

In fact *for The Millions Who Want a Free Press*

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The Truth About Wendell Willkie

Because 90% of America's newspapers (outside the Solid South) are pledged to Willkie, the greatest attempt in American history to pervert the news is under way.

Every newspaper man in Washington knows that "the closest thing to a native American fascist" is Wendell Willkie. (Remember also Huey Long's prediction that "Fascism in America will arrive on an anti-Fascist platform.") The foregoing statements are made by IN FACT on the unchallengeable evidence supplied by several newspaper men who were present when Willkie addressed the National Press Club. The speech was off-the-record, therefore much more honest than the buncombe and half-truths which usually make up the bulk of political campaign oratory. Willkie's speech was a boast which was also a confession.

Willkie's Anti-Labor, Pro-Fascist Plan

We cannot quote Willkie directly because of the "off-the-record" proviso, but we think it a duty to American democracy to tell what he said.

1. Willkie came out openly for industrial dictatorship in the U. S. Not only American business, but all America, should be run by Big Business. There should be no government interference, check, control.

This is of course very close to the fascist totalitarian state.

2. Willkie called for a let-down of all the New Deal social and economic reforms which would interfere with his business dictatorship.

In public the pretense of including "the better features of the New Deal" in the Republican platform is maintained; no party can antagonize the millions who still want better food, clothing, shelter—any kind of a Better Deal.

3. The general tenor of the Willkie press club speech was: Stop the government from interfering with business, suspend civil liberties, and disregard entirely the rights of labor.

This is of course the basis of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism, Franco's idea in Spain, the Petain-Laval plan in France.

4. Every correspondent in Washington knows that the entire Willkie speech was nothing but demagogery. Willkie also told the press writers he was for all aid to the Allies short of war, and that he was opposed to sending a single American soldier to fight abroad. This may fool the general public, but it did not fool press writers. Most everyone is pro-Ally but most everyone knows that the two statements are incompatible, and therefore rank demagogery.

5. Willkie showed himself a complete reactionary. He made no attempt to pose as a liberal. The "liberal" label was stuck on Willkie by Russell Davenport, former editor of Fortune, who resigned that job to act as press agent for Willkie, who knew that the American people (scared stiff of the taint of Wall Street, public utilities, and reactionary Big Business), want a "liberal." He therefore invented the liberal label for Willkie; the newspapers are now pasting it on thick.

Newspapermen's Facts; Newspapers' Fakes

Washington was shocked by Willkie's off-the-record speech. In addition to journalists there were lobbyists, press agents, and politicians present, who said at the time that Willkie would have completely ruined himself if the general public had heard his pro-Fascist confession.

But even Washington correspondents are unable to write the straight story of the Willkie candidacy for their newspapers, which are pledged to Willkie. If a New York Herald Tribune or a Chicago Tribune correspondent ever tried to write anything truthful which disagreed with the prejudices of his newspaper's owner, his usefulness would be at an end, he would be out of a job. However, the majority of Washington correspondents are not brass check polishers and many have to write one way while they vote another. (For 436 pages of documentation of this statement see "The Washington Correspondents" by Leo C. Rosten.)

Evidence is already at hand that in the present presidential campaign, the press is fooling the American people. In 1936, the percentage of newspapers which not only supported the Republican candidate but also suppressed and distorted campaign news was between 70% and 80%. During the 1938 congressional campaign another 7% or 8% joined the majority in unfair and frequently per-

Biggest Fake of the Fortnight

THE fortnight's biggest faked story was headlined by the Philadelphia Inquirer "Convention Bomb Plot Foiled" and sub-headed "2 Seized in Red's Mass Murder Scheme." The story said: "A widespread red bomb plot, apparently designed to terrorize Philadelphia while the city is crowded with visitors, has been uncovered here. . . . Eight men, all known to have connections with radical organizations, were involved in the mass murder scheme"

Patterson's New York Daily News improved the lie. Headline: "Find 8 Bombs At G.O.P. Convention." Its story said, "G-Men, Penna. State police and Philadelphia City detectives today thwarted a gigantic red bomb plot which might have destroyed the lives of hundreds of Republican delegates and visitors to the Republican National Convention."

Chairman Pryor of the convention said the story was a lie. Federal, state and city officials said it was a lie. The whole hoax was based on the discovery of a harmless sample dummy of a Fourth-of-July fireworks piece which J. B. Decker of Elkton, Md. left on a train. The News fake was signed by Fred Pasley, one of its star reporters. IN FACT will tell you more about him when it takes up the faked news from Mexico.

Lying Headlines

WE see no objection to the word "lie" correctly used. The New York Post, July 3, page 12, had a story explaining France's defeat, saying "Fifth Column activity became fairly evident, and most of it was not the work of Communists. It was not they who removed the fuses from mines under Meuse bridges so that German tanks passed." The headline, however, had it: "Reds' Sabotage Of Mines At Meuse."

The World-Telegram's headline the same day said: "France beaten . . . by paid agents of Moscow, Berlin, says Simms." The story says: "It wasn't the Nazis that licked her. It was her own politicians."

The story explains how for six years France was defeated "in the Chamber of Deputies and in the workshops and factories" where no war armaments were built. There is nothing to warrant the headline. On page 5, Simms states that "France's Radical Socialists, Socialists and Communists were organizing their Popular Front in imitation of the Red Regime in Spain." Mr. Simms in using Coughlin's line about the "Red Regime in Spain," repeats the usual lie. Mr. Simms knows that the Radical Socialists are neither radicals nor socialists, it is just a party name. The Popular Front

verted journalism. Today it looks as though the percentage will be even more one-sided.

Throughout the United States in 1936, the press spotlighted a story, illustrated with reproductions of slips placed in pay envelopes, predicting that New Deal social security legislation would reduce pay by 1% at least, in the future "may go as high as 4%."

This outright lie was followed on Nov. 1, 1936 by one of the greatest frauds in political and journalistic history. The Boston Herald headlined: "Nation's Workers To Be Tagged, Hamilton Tells 22,000 In Garden." The New York American and other Hearst newspapers actually published photographs of a numbered metal tag which, they claimed, workers would be forced to wear around their necks if Roosevelt won. Nothing as crude as this has yet appeared in the 1940 campaign, but there has already been wholesale misrepresentations about Willkie and about the Philadelphia convention.

What Willkie Promised Lamont

Apparently Willkie does not fool himself with his contradictory statements that one can give all aid short of war and yet abstain from sending troops abroad—contradictions which every military strategist recognizes. We have the following statement from a Washington journalist of the highest probity:

Before making the press club speech, Willkie attended a dinner in New York given in his honor by Thomas W. Lamont representing J. P. Morgan & Co., and attended by Morgan partners and leading business men, bankers and politicians. This was the time the Big Money OKayed Willkie. At this dinner Willkie not only advocated all aid to the Allies, but advocated the sending of an American expeditionary force to fight on foreign soil. Our Washington correspondent's source for this sensational statement is a member of the U. S. Senate, present at the dinner. IN FACT is convinced that this information calls for a congressional investigation.

Facts About the Nomination

IN FACT learns from our on-the-spot reporter, who also covered the convention for a newspaper which perverts the news to boost Willkie, that one of the most significant aspects of the meeting was the participation of Thomas Lamont of Morgan & Co., and other big monopolists. In Philadelphia, Lamont excused his presence by remarking, "I was just passing through and thought I'd stop." He said he "just dropped in" to see what was going on. An endless stream of bankers and utility men passed through Willkie's suite at the Warwick. At 1:30 one morning, several representatives of Lehman Bros. of New York were identified.

William S. Harman, who introduced Willkie at the Academy meeting, is vice-president of Baldwin Locomotive Works, munitions profiteers, now making tanks. The Philadelphia Ledger also plugged for Willkie. It is owned by the Bok family which inherited it and the Saturday Evening Post from Curtis, an \$18,000,000 estate. The head of the family, Mary Louise Curtis Bok is active in the Aid the Allies movement.

Boss Joe Pew, with 72 Pennsylvania votes, held the balance of power at the convention, but held it too long. He could have swung the nomination to Taft on the fourth ballot or even the fifth, but in the sixth the stampede was on. As a result, Pennsylvania boss leadership seems to be passing to Edward T. Weir, chairman of the Republican finance committee, one of the chief enemies of labor in America. (See La Follette Committee reports.) Note that Pennsylvania's 72 ballots were given Willkie by former Senator A. Reed without authority. Reed is spokesman of the Mellon interests and will now share bossship of the state. Reed once endorsed Mussolini.

Our Philadelphia correspondent concludes: "Liberal feeling here is that Willkie is the most dangerous demagogue since Huey Long."

The Republicans Underwrite Anti-Semitism

Facts which reveal that the National Committee of the Republican Party has given substantial financial support to anti-Semitic organizations closely linked to the Nazis are now in the hands of Congress. An investigation is under way at present to discover how much money the Republican Party may still be donating for un-American activities.

In the report on expenditures of political parties compiled under the Corrupt Practices Act, the Republican National Committee admitted giving \$10,000 during the 1936 presidential campaign to Harry Jung of Chicago, chief distributor of the forged and lying "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Jung's organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, is a notorious labor-spy outfit. Jung himself is a protege of Colonel McCormick of the Chicago Tribune.

No large circulation newspaper has printed the admitted facts of Republican aid to anti-Semites and their Nazi friends, though the information is available to all.

Moreover, the Republican National Committee in 1936 gave money to Walter S. Steele, publisher of the anti-Semitic magazine, National Republic. In a recent circulation campaign, Steele armed his salesmen with letters of introduction signed by Congressman Martin Dies.

was not red, it could not even help Republican Spain. In the final paragraph Simms says "the people of France are saying . . . for years the paid agents of Moscow and Berlin were permitted to turn the whole national effort into channels which could only lead to disaster. . . ." It is on this hearsay that the W-T wrote a crooked headline.

The Real Fifth Column

THE Dies Committee was informed, over a year ago, that seven suspected German spies were employed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, large builders of American war ships. Three of the suspects were subpoenaed, but their evidence was hushed up at once. The other four suspected spies were not even called for examination by Dies or his Committee, nor were the three men who gave the information on the seven shady figures ever questioned, though they were employed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and had their eyes on the doubtful other "workers."

IN FACT is in possession of the names of the suspected spies and the three informants.

They Love Child Labor

THE most powerful enemy of the constitutional amendment to end child labor is the American Newspaper Publishers Association. They call it "youth control," claim newsboys are "little merchants," and wave the flag and shout "rugged Americanism." The newspaper owners are the largest employers of child labor.

In Cleveland the boys who sell the Plain Dealer, Press and News, tried to organize a union. The publishers, however, wanted to escape social security payments and a guarantee of a decent weekly wage, so they have locked out the rugged little American merchants. Executives and other upper-bracketeers of the publishing fraternity actually sold papers over the counter for a few days. Charges of unfair labor practice have been filed with the NLRB.

They Hate CIO Victories

WHEN General Motors signed with the CIO the union won a wage increase of \$5,000,000, and \$7,000,000 in vacation pay. Pro-labor newspapers (—name three!) —played up the stories, most papers buried it. Worse yet, they used the General Motors publicity story saying no blanket wage increase was granted.

Hearst Gives in to Reporters

ALTHOUGH Hearst has been voted labor enemy and American Fascist No. 1 by some 200 unions in the past 20 years, American Newspaper Guild negotiators rank publishers for enmity and hard-heartedness as follows: Roy Howard; Sulzberger of the New York Times; Hearst. The Hearst chain has now agreed to recognize the Guild. Papers involved: Albany Times-Union, San Antonio Light, Los Angeles Herald-Express, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Milwaukee Sentinel, New York Journal-American, New York Mirror, Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, Detroit Times, San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Oakland Post-Enquirer.

Wages and Farmers

THE Republican Party platform, calling for amendments to kill the National Labor Relations Act, only matches the present administration's indifference to the drive in Congress supported by powerful Democrats to do away with labor's Magna Carta. The main object in killing the NLRB is to break the union movement, slash wages of industrial workers.

Wage-cutters have appealed to the farmers to back this movement. The U. S. Dept. of Agriculture now publishes a pamphlet entitled "The Challenge of Under-Consumption" which proves how wage-cutting also impoverishes the farmers.

Says the pamphlet: "What would happen if every family head who was receiving less than \$100 per month got that much money? . . . Does this mean that they pay higher prices for better food, or do they actually seek more food? The answer is that they do both. We know that low-income people are eating about half as much as they want. They will buy more food and greater varieties of it, if they have the opportunity. There are calories as well as vitamin deficiencies in the diets of our less-fortunate families. . . ."

The Battle of France

FOR the information of IN FACT readers, we present a roundup of British editorial opinion on the collapse of France:

The Daily Telegraph, right-wing Tory paper, wrote, "In Tours, on June 30th, Weygand argued that Communism was rampant in Paris and said that Thorez, the leader of the Communist Party, had succeeded in seizing Elysee. Needless to say, the report was inaccurate. The incident shows that the preoccupation with maintaining France's social tranquility and repressing subversive movements weighed heavily. . . . Once more the vision of social revolution deterred French policy from an accurate appraisal of what Hitlerism meant and was going to mean for their country."

The Daily Sketch, right tabloid, stated, "The prime mover in the surrender was Laval and his supporters. They convinced Lebrun and the army leaders that continuance of the war would lead to civil war and Communism."

The Daily Mirror, also a right-wing tabloid, quoted Henri Hauck, Labor Attaché of the French Ministry of Information, "There were in France certain people afraid of the working class movement, and prepared to accept any form of dictatorship."

Beaverbrooks' Daily Express, said "Men, who slavish in their advocacy of Hitlerism, are down in police records as having taken Nazi money in peace time, still went free in Paris. The Cagoulards, who plotted against the Republic in the time of the Popular Front were all released from jail the day after war started, and returned to their regiments. The truth was the French military and police were too busy on another track—hunting down the Communists."

The Manchester Guardian, a liberal newspaper, declared, "Certain members of the Pétain government entertained the pleasant illusion that in a relatively independent France which they would create, they could cooperate with the Germans in stamping out democracy, socialism, and Jews."

The News Chronicle, liberal, published

The Republican Committee also presented a leading anti-Semite, Congressman Thorkelson of Montana, with \$500 for campaign expenses.

Leaders of Jewish organizations, rich and influential Jewish bankers and industrialists who support the Republican Party, are aware that their contributions went to building Jew-baiting rackets, instruments used by the Republicans to attack President Roosevelt and what they called his "Jew Deal." These wealthy contributors now face the dilemma of deserting the Republicans or financing anti-Semitism.

Five Items Result in Falsehood

The World-Telegram takes five stories (an assault by American Legionnaires, a peace petition by 10,000 mothers, a split in the American Labor Party, the picketing of a war play, and the nominating committee of the Communist Party) and turns them into as flagrant a breach of journalistic ethics as any reported in Sinclair's "Brass Check."

One idea pervades these five items: the desire for peace, which the Gallup Poll shows animates 93% of the U. S. One brasschecker of the Scripps-Howard press places this headline on the story: "Peace Front Here Linked to Communists." Another newspaper wrote that through the five peace developments "ran an interlocking chain of personalities and organizations that links them to the Communist Party's peace program."

The fraud in this story was shown up when The National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars, Hon. Ham Fish, chairman, Hon. Harold Knudsen, vice chairman, and Hon. John J. O'Connor, second vice chairman, inserted their startling page advertisement headed "Stop the March to War! Stop the Interventionists and Warmongers! Stop the Democratic Party." The World-Telegram had underlined the word "warmongers" as being the tipoff of Communist activity. Now it appears in the Republican leaders' broadside. To be consistent the W-T should include Fish and his committee of 50 members of Congress and former members, leading Willkieites, in its red network.

Incidentally Hon. Fish attacked the New York Times for censoring the Republican ad. Originally the third headline read: "Stop President Roosevelt." It so appeared in the pro-Willkie Philadelphia Inquirer. Fish telegraphed Senators Johnson, Wheeler, Holt, Clark and Walsh: "The New York Times changed the statement . . . thereby changing the purpose of the advertisement, and is typical of these internationalist and interventionist newspapers that are trying to protect President Roosevelt and the interventionists."

The Fate of Great Britain

By the middle of August, the present European war will be ended. Thus the State Department appraises the present outlook in Europe, according to IN FACT'S reliable informants. The prospect of peace within the next month or so presents the administration with far more difficult and weighty problems than the continuance of war.

In the judgment of informed officials, the blitzkrieg against England will start within the next weeks, perhaps immediately. The blow will be of terrific force, preceded by mass air bombings, long range artillery barrages from the French coast, attempted landings of a sizable and fully equipped German army. That such a landing is possible, since the English seacoast is long, its key points are many, and the defending force is not much greater than 500,000 first-line and well-equipped troops, seems to be accepted military opinion.

After the first blow, even before the landing of troops, it is expected that the English appeasers will again come into their own and reach terms with Hitler. Such terms would be in the form of a partnership between Germany and Great Britain, whereby the Nazis could utilize the credit system built up by the British for expansion in South America. Furthermore, with British, French and German productive systems at their command, and hungry for raw materials, the Nazis could make a strong bid for South America. The dilemma of the U. S. is that it does not need, cannot use, raw materials.

The outlook has Washington worried. The imminence of a German-British partnership is doubly menacing since Germany would inherit the British fleet. This would make the strong-arm defense of South America, now contemplated by the American admirals and certain political circles, almost out of the question.

U. S. circles now frankly admit in private conversations that the fate of Britain is not their main concern. If Britain capitulates or is smashed, and the fleet sinks with it, the U. S. has nothing to fear. But appeasement seems to promise that the fleet will be in German hands. Peace in that event is now considered far more catastrophic than the continuance of the war.

China's Third Year of War

The very immediate prospect of a struggle to prevent German advances in South America alters unfavorably the external situation facing the Chinese. While the United States has continued to supply the greatest portion of Japanese war materials in use against the Chinese people, up to the present the State Department has displayed hostility to the Japanese adventure. Now, however,

with the necessity of defending this Hemisphere against economic aggression, those who advocate appeasing Japan are being listened to with increasing interest.

The Burma road, which Britain refuses to close as yet, is by no means crucial. The Burmese, infected by the democratic struggle of their neighbor, would probably keep the road open despite official decrees. But the danger of a deal in which America gives Japan a free hand is increasing.

Experts advise keeping a close eye on developments in the Orient as a clue to American foreign policy in the near future.

The amount of support offered by the U. S. to Japan since 1939 is startling. During the first nine months of 1939, U. S. dealers supplied Japan with 55% of all imports of machinery and tools into that country. Soon after the outbreak of the European war, this share rose to 63%. According to the Wall Street Journal (June 5), "The share now is even higher." Approximately one-half of the imports of American machine tools into Japan are used in the Japanese airplane industry.

Export of scrap iron and steel from the U. S. to Japan has risen from 48,000 tons in 1931 to 2,027,000 tons in 1939. The new Japanese import program, to overcome recent falling off, is expected to step up imports to 150,000 tons monthly. It is pointed out that 80% of all Japan's steel and scrap iron come from America.

During the first four months of 1940, total exports to Japan from the U. S. had passed the exports of a comparable period last year by \$2,700,000.

Confusion in Washington

Reports to IN FACT from Washington state that the collapse of France is considered by the administration as the severest defeat it has yet suffered. Overnight, the administration's whole position on foreign policy has been shaken. The former trend toward intervention in Europe's war has become almost untenable; the treachery of the French rulers has revealed that the "save civilization" slogan on which Roosevelt depended to gain popular support for entrance into the war lacked all content.

The prospect of a similar betrayal on the part of the English (hinted at so strongly in Chamberlain's recent speech of "defiance" which repeated in almost the same words his speech immediately preceding the Munich sell-out) has also provoked the most serious jitters in the State Department and among the war-minded groups close to the President. Evidences of the way plans have gone awry are found in the hints that Roosevelt may not run for a third term, or if he does, that he may not win the election.

As revealed above and in the preceding issue of IN FACT (No. 4), appeasement forces in the national administration are showing new strength. To counteract the appeasers, certain sections of the administration advocate improving U. S. relations with the Soviet Union—since, it is said, the United States, now without allies in the desperate struggle against German expansion, must draw closer to the only great power that does not threaten America. It is being pointed out that such a policy would be favorably received not only by the bulk of American labor but also by the Jews, Poles, Danes, Norwegians, Belgians, French and other national minority groups in this country whose only hope for families and compatriots abroad rests in the liberation movements always assiduously supported by the Soviet Union.

Indication of changing attitudes: The Czech Benes press in this country, bitterly anti-Russian in the past months, has begun editorially to deny that it ever expressed hostility to the USSR. It now speaks of the Soviet Union as the only hope of the Czech people.

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a letter by a "Frenchman in England," who, referring to Laval, Bonnet, and Flanigan, said they "now prefer to see their own great country obliterated as a nation and go down in eternal shame rather than face the prospect of social revolution."

Suppressed, Even in Death

ALMOST all the newspapers of the country, and notably the great New York Times, suppressed the main facts about Gen. Italo Balbo.

The main fact about Balbo is that he was a notorious gangster, and that he murdered the Catholic priest, Don Giovanni Minzoni of Argenta, who led the Popular or Catholic Party. Balbo's gang destroyed Catholic institutions in Ferrara, murdered the priest, and when Balbo was accused of murder, Mussolini fired him (temporarily). The New York newspapers have in their files the story of the riot attending Balbo's arrival, the effigies with the word "assassino," the placards charging murder—but they did not mention this, although they lauded the Fascist.

Liaison Officer

SIDELIGHTS on President Roosevelt's appointment of James Forrestal of Dillon, Read & Co., as one of his assistants:

Forrestal was scored by Roosevelt not so long ago, as one of those who formed a Bahamas corporation to avoid paying approximately \$850,000 in income taxes to the U. S. government.

The New Deal formerly investigated Dillon, Read, berated them as palming off on Americans worthless South American bonds.

The Sun declared that the purpose of the new appointment was to allow Forrestal to serve as a liaison agent between Wall Street and the White House.

The Road to Fascism

BURTON K. WHEELER in the Senate:

"... I have heard persons not in Congress say 'Congress ought to pass laws to suppress this or that organization....' They denounce a totalitarian form of government on the one hand, and on the other hand set up totalitarian mechanisms which can only bring about totalitarianism in the United States of America." (Congressional Record, 1940, page 11050.)

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